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**Lieutenant-Colonel Amy Hall**

**Communications Matter: Overcoming Female Tokenism in the Canadian Armed Forces**

**JCSP 47**

## **Exercise Solo Flight**

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## COMMUNICATIONS MATTER: OVERCOMING FEMALE TOKENISM IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

### Introduction

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) have been actively seeking to improve its gender diversity for decades. With the enactment of the Employment Equity Act in 1995, federal agencies including the CAF were compelled to take steps to “achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability.”<sup>1</sup> Under pressure by such legislation, the CAF renewed focus on recruiting efforts for women, publishing a series of Employment Equity Action Plans over successive years which set out diversity targets, including the goal to incrementally increase the representation of women in the CAF. In 2010, the CAF set a long-term goal to achieve 25.1% female representation by 2026.<sup>2</sup> This goal was reaffirmed in 2021 with the release of the CAF Employment Equity Plan 2021-2026.<sup>3</sup>

Recently, the CAF has shifted its focus to more esoteric social principles, seeking to build not just a diverse team via a numerical increase in the proportional representation of designated groups<sup>4</sup>, but an inclusive one in which all members are valued for their unique characteristics that contribute to operational effectiveness. CAF seeks to create an environment where members, including women, are empowered to bring their “authentic selves” to the workplace.<sup>5</sup> However, such goals require *integration* not *assimilation*, which is difficult to achieve when cultural barriers continue to exist that relegate women to mere token status within the organization.

Gender barriers will not be overcome by emphasizing communications to members regarding aspirational recruiting goals or obligations with respect to legislative requirements. Such imperatives are misaligned with the CAF’s primary *raison d’être*; that of creating military effects. Therefore, to truly generate buy-in from CAF members on the need for increased gender-balance, institutional leaders must bring value to feminine qualities by emphasizing and communicating the military advantages created by having female members on the team. This paper will argue that senior leaders must re-orient the discussion around inclusivity and gender integration by communicating the *operational reasons* in favour of female integration, almost to the exclusion of legislative or social reasons. Such focus on operational reasons for female integration is an imperative enabling step for improving female integration in the CAF.

This paper will begin by demonstrating the sociological existence of “tokenism” for female members of the CAF. The warrior archetype will be singled out as the CAF’s

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<sup>1</sup> Employment Equity Act (S.C. 1995, c. 44)

<sup>2</sup> Department of National Defence, *Canadian Armed Forces Employment Equity Plan 2015-2020* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 2015), 7.

<sup>3</sup> Department of National Defence, *Canadian Armed Forces Employment Equity Plan 2021-2026* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 2021), 9.

<sup>4</sup> Designated groups are: Women, Indigenous Peoples, Visible Minorities, and Persons with Disabilities.

<sup>5</sup> Department of National Defence, “Inclusive Behaviours within the Defence Team”, accessed 14 May 2022, <http://intranet.mil.ca/en/organizations/chief-professional-conduct-culture/inclusive-behaviours.page>

“ideal worker” and the predominant lever through which female integration may be improved. Next, a case will be made regarding the operational reasons that need to be emphasized to convince CAF members to evolve their ideal worker schema beyond the traditional warrior archetype, which will ultimately improve the integration of women and increase the CAF’s overall operational effectiveness.

### **Women are “tokens” in the CAF**

The experience of tokenism was first studied by Rosabeth Kanter in 1977. A foundational study in the sociology of group dynamics, she linked the experience of minority groups as a function of their proportional representation. She described “skewed groups” as those in which the ratio of majority to minority was on average 85:15. She termed the minority group as “tokens” if they made up less than 15-20% of the total, “because they are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals.”<sup>6</sup> Kanter found that “tokens typically perform under conditions different from those of the dominants.”<sup>7</sup> Kanter’s work is meaningful because the proportion of women in the CAF is currently 16.3%<sup>8</sup> which makes the CAF a “skewed group” with female tokens and male dominants.

Though Kanter’s study is dated, anecdotally her findings do seem to predict some of the negative environmental effects experienced by some women in the CAF today. For example, Kanter found that token women in male-dominated work environments tended to have “extra symbolic consequences attached to their [actions]...they were thus not acting for themselves alone but carrying the burden of representing their category”<sup>9</sup> or that women in the study had to “put in extra effort to make their technical skills known, to work twice as hard to prove their competence.”<sup>10</sup> Kanter summarizes that tokens “appear to operate under a number of handicaps in work settings...and undergo a great deal of personal stress and may need to expend extra energy to maintain a satisfactory relationship in the work situation.”<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, these findings are validated by later studies on the existence of sub-surface barriers that negatively impact the ability of women to advance in male-dominated environments, termed Second Generation Gender Bias (2GGB).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Rosabeth Moss Kanter, “Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women,” *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 5 (March 1977): 966.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 972.

<sup>8</sup> “Percentages based on CAF Total Strength as reflected in Guardian 01 April, 2022.” Department of National Defence, “CAF Employment Equity Database for April 2022,” accessed 9 May 2022, [http://cmp-cpm.mil.ca/assets/CMP\\_Intranet/docs/en/support/ee-stats-slide.pdf](http://cmp-cpm.mil.ca/assets/CMP_Intranet/docs/en/support/ee-stats-slide.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Rosabeth Moss Kanter, “Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women,”..., 973.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 987.

<sup>12</sup> For further information about studies conducted on prevalence of 2GGB in the CAF, see LCol Sandra Humphreys’s Solo Flight paper which provides an overview of 2GGB studies and links these to the current CAF cultural context: S. Humphreys, “Fighting the Undercurrent: Second-Generation Gender Bias in the Canadian Armed Forces” (Command and Staff Course Solo Flight Paper, Canadian Forces College, 2021).

Kanter concluded that numerical proportions are an important factor in predicting negative effects on tokens, which she contends are alleviated by adding sufficient numbers of the disadvantaged group in “sufficient proportion to counteract the effects of tokenism.”<sup>13</sup> However, she emphasized that the experience of tokenism occurs on a spectrum. Although negative effects decrease with increasing proportionality, they are still experienced beyond a 15-20% proportional representation, with considerable lingering effects experienced until roughly 30-35% proportional representation.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, if Kanter’s theory on tokenism holds true, the CAF’s current Employment Equity target of 25.1% will in fact not be sufficient to alleviate the effects of tokenism felt by female uniformed members.

It is highly doubtful that the CAF will be able to improve the experience of women by recruiting them in sufficient numbers to remove their “token” status. The CAF has been making only incremental steps towards the existing goal of 25.1% female representation, increasing the proportion of women by fractions of a percent each year. The overall women’s representation in the Regular Force and Primary Reserve was 15.2% as of March 31, 2017.<sup>15</sup> As of April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2022, the proportion of women in the CAF had risen to only 16.3%,<sup>16</sup> an increase of 1.1% over 5 years, for an average of 0.22% per year. At this rate of increase, and assuming all other factors such as recruiting efforts and reception by the Canadian public remain the same, it will be another 40 years before the CAF closes the delta to 25.1% female representation, and another 22 years beyond that for a total of 62 years before the CAF tips past the roughly 30% threshold Kanter views as necessary to improve cultural experiences for women using proportional representation alone.

Assuming the CAF does not wish to wait 62 years to improve the experience of women in the military, the CAF needs to consider other factors that will have immediate, positive effect on the integration of women while the slow climb past 30% proportional representation drags on. The CAF cannot simply attempt to recruit its way to inclusion. Therefore, the CAF needs to pull on alternate levers to effect this change, such as by evolving the CAF’s vision of the ideal worker, discussed next.

### **The Ideal Worker Schema**

In 2010, sociologist Catherine Turco conducted a study on the Leveraged Buyout (LBO) industry to expand on foundational theories of tokenism presented by Kanter’s 1977 study. The relevance of Turco’s study is that the context for the occupational inequality in the LBO industry is very similar to that of the CAF – it is predominantly white male and exhibits an aggressive male culture. As a study on tokenism, Turco shows that the experiences of tokens are not simply based on their proportion within the group,

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<sup>13</sup> Rosabeth Moss Kanter, “Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women,”..., 988.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 966.

<sup>15</sup> Department of National Defence, Canadian Armed Forces Employment Equity Report 2016-2017 (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 2017), 5.

<sup>16</sup> Department of National Defence, “CAF Employment Equity Database for April 2022,” accessed 9 May 2022, [http://cmp-cpm.mil.ca/assets/CMP\\_Intranet/docs/en/support/ee-stats-slide.pdf](http://cmp-cpm.mil.ca/assets/CMP_Intranet/docs/en/support/ee-stats-slide.pdf).

stating “numbers and status alone are insufficient to explain tokens’ experiences.”<sup>17</sup> Turco points out that successive studies by sociologists on the theory of tokenism since Kanter’s 1977 study have challenged the idea that tokenism is singularly based on numerical proportion. She summarizes:

It is not numerical rarity per se, but rather social status in the broader society that determines token experience... that is to say, not all numeric minorities experience the effects of tokenism, just *low-status* [emphasis added] minorities.”<sup>18</sup>

Turco shows in her study of LBO firms that female employees (of any race) and black male employees, though both in the numerical category of being “tokens” in the dominant white male LBO industry, do not equally experience the effects of tokenism. She explains that there is a cultural element to the experience of tokens whereby macro-cultural ideals shape the expectations of group members vis a vis how they judge the performance of others. That is to say, there is an ideal standard against which all members of the group are assessed for performance, formed by internal cultural expectations which are subconsciously, if not deliberately, chosen. Turco termed this the “ideal worker” and determined it was directly responsible for the differences in experience of various token groups within the LBO.<sup>19</sup>

Within the LBO industry, black male employees were more readily accepted than females because the industry’s ideal worker image is more “gender-typed male than it is race-typed white.”<sup>20</sup> Female employees were low-status minorities because the image of the LBO ideal worker favours characteristics that women lack but men possess, regardless of race.

The impacts of cultural perceptions of an ideal worker are also felt in how members assess who is an effective leader. In a 2014 analysis of leadership perceptions, sociologists reaffirmed earlier studies that found that those who were deemed “incongruent” with the prevalent culture of an organization were more often perceived to be less effective leaders.<sup>21</sup> Not surprisingly, members of male-dominated organizations showed a preference for male leaders. Though surprisingly, women in the most senior leader positions were seen as more effective leaders due to “perceptions of extra competence... [which can] potentially override perceptions on women’s incongruity, increasing assessments of their effectiveness at the top.”<sup>22</sup> This finding suggests that within male-dominated organizations, the performance threshold for female entry into the

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<sup>17</sup> Catherine J. Turco, “Cultural Foundations of Tokenism: Evidence from the Leveraged Buyout Industry,” *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 6 (December 2010): 895.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 896.

<sup>19</sup> Catherine J. Turco, “Cultural Foundations of Tokenism: Evidence from the Leveraged Buyout Industry,” ..., 895.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Samantha C. Paustian-Underdahl, Lisa Slattery Walker, and David J. Woehr, “Gender and Perceptions of Leadership Effectiveness: A Meta-Analysis of Contextual Moderators,” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 99, no. 6 (November 2014): 1138.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1138.

‘C-suite’ is considerably higher than that for comparative males. The relevance of this point to the argument is that given male and female members of equal competence, perceived cultural incongruence of women in male-dominated organizations causes them to be held back from leadership positions until the point that they are so over-qualified they are finally chosen, and then found to be “extra competent.” Extrapolating on these findings, what needs to shift in order to level the playing field for the integration and advancement of women in the CAF is to change the perception that women are culturally incongruent with military service.

Sociologists’ conclusions on the importance of the ideal worker schema as a powerful force of exclusion is directly applicable to the CAF. An argument can be made that the “ideal worker” within military institutions is the traditional warrior archetype, which, like the LBO study, is likely more gender-typed male than it is race-typed white. The ideal worker schema of the military, which drives the culturally accepted standard to assess who is incongruent, needs to shift away from a predominantly male ideal if the CAF is to achieve gender integration goals.

Defence researchers have long lambasted the gender barriers created by the idea of a single “male warrior-hero” archetype, with defence scientist Dr. Karen Davis stating, “the real hurdle for women in participating fully in the military today has little to do with their physical and mental abilities but rather revolves around social and cultural issues characterizing the ‘warrior framework’.”<sup>23</sup> Dr. Davis describes the traditional warrior identity thusly:

Historically, the warrior is understood to be male and assumed to share such characteristics as superior physical and moral attributes, aggressive nature, proclivity to violence, rite of passage marked by physical prowess, “will to kill”, masculinity, and embodiment of virtue.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Davis showed that female members are entirely capable of performing *bona fide* military tasks, but the culturally-accepted standard (i.e., the “ideal worker”) is not entirely aligned with actual requirements for the military profession. Indeed, the traditionally-male warrior archetype is not just mildly inconvenient background noise on the quest to cultural reform in the CAF, it is the single most leading barrier to the inclusion of women. This argument is not new.

The CAF’s current ideal worker schema is a known barrier which has generated some targeted efforts supporting its evolution. For example, the term “Warrior’s Honour” used in Duty with Honour has been replaced with “fighting spirit” in the soon-to-be-released *CAF Ethos: Trusted to Serve* publication. Additionally, following recent CAF-wide consultations by Chief Professional Conduct & Culture, expert advisors crafted a

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<sup>23</sup> Karen D. Davis and Brian McKee, “Women in the Military: Facing the Warrior Framework,” in *Challenge and Change for the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, edited by Franklin C. Pinch, Allister T. MacIntyre, Phyllis Browne, and Alan C. Okros, 52–75. Winnipeg: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, Canadian Defence Academy, 2004: 67.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

summary of suggested focus areas to evolve CAF culture. The CAF's warrior identity was singled out as one of the four key thematic problem areas.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, considerable effort has also been made within the last decade to implement Gender Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) measures on defence acquisition and policy development to ensure new infrastructure, equipment, systems, and processes do not re-create barriers for female serving members. Other efforts in recent years to improve gender integration in the CAF have largely focussed on creating inclusion policy and reinforcing targeted recruiting initiatives. However, defence researcher Katia Sorin had already previously identified in 2004 that "formal inclusion policies and full acceptance of gender diversity [will not solve] all the problems of women's participation in the military,"<sup>26</sup> suggesting that true gender integration cannot be achieved by policy alone. Instead, an important complementary step on the path to remove barriers to integration is to address the root of the CAF's culture: its warrior identity.

Changing the CAF's ideal worker schema to evolve beyond the traditional male warrior archetype is the critical line of effort necessary to create fertile ground for all gender-inclusive policies and practices to take hold. Fixing infrastructure, equipment, systems, and processes, though important in their own right, do little to convince the dominants (males) on the validity and importance of diversity to the military. It is not a lack of *convenience* for day-to-day performance of duties that is the critical barrier to the inclusion of women, it is the outdated *male-warrior hero* which inhibits genuine, cerebral recognition of the capabilities of females and their ability to conduct warfighting. While such a barrier remains at the foundation of the CAF's military culture, fixing peripheral issues such as infrastructure, equipment, systems and policies are a hollow effort that do not attack the centre of gravity of the inclusion problem.

### **Communicating the rationale for the integration of women**

If the male-warrior archetype has been a known barrier for decades, why have efforts to move beyond this idealized persona failed? Why is the CAF's legacy "ideal worker" still entrenched? Because leaders have failed to convince the dominant males that women are necessary to achieve superior military effects. There has been insufficient emphasis communicated regarding the benefits of a diverse force, and insufficient efforts to substantiate and show that military teams with integrated gender balance are more operationally effective than all-male teams.

This is not a uniquely CAF-internal issue. Defence researchers have derided the "increasing glorification of the warrior in popular culture."<sup>27</sup> Prevailing societal perception of military members reinforced by movies and Hollywood continue to push a predominantly male narrative regarding military identity and warfighting capability.

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<sup>25</sup> Lieutenant-General Jennie Carignan (CPCC brief to Air Boards, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa, Ontario), 4 May 2021.

<sup>26</sup> Katia Sorin, "Women in the French Forces: Integration Versus Conflict," in *Challenge and Change for the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, edited by Franklin C Pinch, Allister T. MacIntyre, Phyllis Browne, and Alan C. Okros, 76–96. Winnipeg: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, Canadian Defence Academy, 2004: 12.

<sup>27</sup> Karen D. Davis and Brian McKee, "Women in the Military: Facing the Warrior Framework," ..., 67.



Prudently, the CAF needs to inoculate members against such a societal misunderstanding of military capability by stressing research evidence that demonstrates the warfighting advantages of gender-balanced teams over all-male teams.

Internally, communications on the need to integrate women into the military has to date largely emphasized the duty to satisfy employment equity legislation and other federal government requirements surrounding diversity and inclusion, requirements that are likely viewed with acrimony as “external pressure.” Reception to these pressures, though outwardly supported at the senior level, is likely felt by the membership as akin to being asked to let your kid sister tag along to appease your parents. At its heart, the CAF exists to deliver military effects in the defence of Canada and its allies. This purpose resonates in the very being of every uniformed member. Therefore, to effect change, leaders must access and leverage this aspect of military cultural identity in order to convince members of the need for female integration.

Within the past year, several senior political and Defence Team leaders have communicated to CAF members that the CAF needs diversity owing to strategic institutional or legislative pressures. In an address to JCSP students in May 2021, the current CDS made the following comments regarding the CAF’s failure to keep pace with Canadian diversification, highlighting the institutional effect this has on recruitment: “As Canadian population grows, our traditional recruiting pool shrinks...we will shrivel up and die and leave Canada undefended.”<sup>28</sup> Similarly, in her address to members of 12 Wing Shearwater gathered for a town hall in November 2021, Justice Louise Arbour also focussed on governance reasons for why the CAF should become more inclusive, making comments to the effect that the CAF needs to improve its inclusivity to ensure public trust because the public pays CAF members’ salaries.<sup>29</sup> While these statements made by senior figures are true, at the extremes the message communicated is that women must be accommodated out of obligation to placate political masters and satisfy the public. The situation could be viewed as women being forced onto the CAF to satisfy legislation. Such perspectives do not acclimate an inclusive, gender-integrated environment.

Pragmatically, CAF members at the tactical edge do not care whether the CAF reflects Canadian society or whether it has a dwindling candidate pool, these are institutional problems that have little immediate impact to their objective: the ability of their team to accomplish the mission. Therefore, in order to generate buy-in for efforts to improve diversity and inclusion, CAF institutional leaders need to relate it to the achievement of superior military effects in operations. Absent such an explanation, members will lose trust that the chain of command is looking out for their best interests and supporting their ability to achieve military objectives. Absent such an explanation, efforts on diversity and inclusion will be seen as appeasing “political masters,” but will ultimately negatively impact inclusion and generate feelings of resentment as members feel “saddled” with those who don’t measure up against the currently held ideal worker (traditional male warrior). Absent such an explanation, there will continue to be an

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<sup>28</sup> General Wayne Eyre (Briefing to JCSP Students, Canadian Forces College, Toronto, Ontario), 27 May 2021.

<sup>29</sup> Justice Louise Arbour, (Town Hall, 12 Wing Shearwater, Shearwater, Nova Scotia), 4 November 2021.

undercurrent or subconscious perception that female members are inadequate to the task.

CAF members will need to be convinced of the *operational* imperatives vice *social/institutional* imperatives to integrate women in the military, to be convinced that having women in the military improves tactical outcomes. At the crux of the issue, there has been insufficient explanation to CAF members about how the traditional warrior identity of bygone eras may no longer reflect those characteristics necessary to wage the most effective war today.

On the case for why the traditional male-warrior archetype is increasingly less relevant, scholars reviewing American military ethical culture note a striking discrepancy between the warrior identity cherished by military members and the reality of military service for most personnel.<sup>30</sup> One review of American training criticized cultural norms that “reinforce qualities such as a power, toughness, dominance, aggressiveness, and competitiveness, resulting in an image of a combat, masculine warrior.”<sup>31</sup> They found such an ideal worker schema did not adequately prepare military members for the spectrum of missions and non-combat roles for which Western militaries are increasingly called to support, especially those that require what are traditionally viewed as feminine qualities such as compassion and empathy. Other researchers champion an absolute requirement for female soldiers in modern warfare, stating:

The domain of warfare is no longer exclusively reserved for men in the twenty-first century and the results of globalization necessitate that we expand our thinking with respect to who participates in conflict and how to approach populations ravaged by war.<sup>32</sup>

Yet other defence researchers contend:

The weaponry and skill sets needed to perform the duties of the modern military have changed, suggesting the need to consider a range of psychological, physical and cognitive competencies that go beyond absolute brute strength and “brawn”. This does not mean that physical fitness, physical conditioning and training are not important, but does argue that brute strength and brawn is not a *bona fide* occupational requirement.<sup>33</sup>

Defence scientists agree that success in modern warfare requires diversity of capability, diversity of perspectives, diversity of strengths, and capabilities that are not exclusively aligned to a male ideal.

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<sup>30</sup> Jessica Wolfendale, and Stoney Portis, “Toxic Warrior Identity, Accountability, and Moral Risk,” *Journal of Military Ethics* 20, no. 3–4 (October 2, 2021): 173.

<sup>31</sup> James J. Do, and Steven M. Samuels, “I Am a Warrior: An Analysis of the Military Masculine-Warrior Narrative Among U.S. Air Force Officer Candidates,” *Armed Forces & Society* 47, no. 1 (January 2021): 27.

<sup>32</sup> Emerald M. Archer, “Winning War in a Globalized World: Utilizing Women & Gender Initiatives in 21st Century Conflict,” *Markets, Globalization & Development Review* 03, no. 02 (2018): 2.

<sup>33</sup> Karen D. Davis and Brian McKee, “Women in the Military: Facing the Warrior Framework,” ..., 69.

Not a Rambo, flexible, humble, adaptable, able to resist frustration, tolerant, able to show feelings, group-orientated, patient, staying power, manage stress, self-confidence, tough, obstinate, able to listen, tolerates provocation, impartial, and diplomatic.... In the first place, be a good human being, not just a good soldier.<sup>34</sup>

What is necessary to improve the integration of women into the CAF is re-education of CAF members regarding the direction of modern warfare. Evidence needs to be gathered to support the narrative that gender diverse and inclusive teams are more operationally effective than all-male teams, and this needs to be presented in concrete terms to CAF members. Importantly, there must be silence on the legislative requirements regarding gender balance as this is irrelevant noise for war fighters “on the edge,” and in worst case is likely to generate distrust regarding the institution’s motives. Instead, the CAF must focus on and promote the warfighting advantages of women in the CAF. To support such efforts, it is imperative the CAF push a narrative that brute strength and masculine aggression is no longer the most important or critical characteristic that generates tactical success. The CAF must re-construct an ideal worker for the coming era of warfare, one that possesses the necessary range of qualities which are not exclusively in a domain primarily achievable by men.

## Conclusion

There are two factors which make women feel the effects of tokenism in the CAF: low proportional representation, and the male-warrior “ideal worker” against which women stereotypically fail to measure up. The CAF attempting to recruit its way to inclusivity is seemingly unachievable based on current recruiting trends. Therefore, the ideal worker schema is the most promising lever by which the CAF can potentially improve the current cultural environment and genuinely integrate rather than assimilate women into the CAF.

The explanation for why we have an imperative to integrate women in the military has to date put too much focus on our legislative requirements, which sends a message that we are integrating women due to external pressures against our better judgment. Consequently, *substantially* more emphasis needs to be placed on the military advantages achieved by gender-balanced teams, and this needs to be communicated as *the* predominant reason supporting the integration of women. To do this the CAF must draw linkages between feminine qualities and increased operational effectiveness in modern warfare and communicate these linkages to all members, especially those at tactical levels. Only then will CAF members trust the organization’s inclusion goals and agree to the steps necessary to improve the integration of women, including the evolution of the warrior archetype.

By emphasizing the warfighting advantage provided by gender-balanced teams the CAF will be better able to convince its members of the necessity to re-imagine the traditional male-warrior archetype. Subsequently, the CAF will be positioned to reframe

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

its socially-constructed “ideal worker”, beginning by re-educating members regarding which characteristics are most important for success in modern warfare. Such a modernized fighting culture is then likely to see improved, balanced alignment with the intrinsic capabilities of women. Following which, recruitment and retention of women will increase, thereby increasing their proportional representation and achieving better gender balance across the institution. Under such gender-balanced conditions, female members will no longer experience the effects of tokenism, CAF culture will be the gender-inclusive organization it seeks, and most importantly, the CAF will be best positioned to achieve superior military effects.

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